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ABSTRACT

The first settlements in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, were the 14th century Tewa Indian Pueblos, autonomous socio-economic units based on agriculture. Similar Hispano villages were founded by colonists beginning in the late 16th century and continuing to the early 19th century, when the Chama Valley was used increasingly as a trade route. After the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Anglo settlers (cattlemen, railroad employees, miners) arrived in the area and completed the tri-cultural makeup of the county. Each culture contributed to the county's ideas of political, social, and economic community linkages. During the early 20th century, the traditional Indian and Hispanic village pattern began to evolve into a settlement hierarchy; Chama and Espanola evolved as the county's dominant towns. Although the towns were new, they were both associated with the railroad which guaranteed a trade advantage. The shift to highway transportation helped establish Espanola as the county's leading trade center and largest town. Like Chama and Dulce, somewhat smaller communities, Espanola was originated by Anglo settlers in the late 19th century. Completing the settlement hierarchy are the Indian and Hispanic villages which have remained very small and provide few community services besides elementary schooling. (Author/SB)

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THE EVOLUTION OF A TRI-CULTURAL PATTERN OF SETTLEMENTS IN HISPANO NEW MEXICO

by

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THE EVOLUTION OF A TRI-CULTURAL PATTERN OF SETTLEMENTS IN HISPANO NEW MEXICO

Hispano New Mexico, encompassing roughly the northern third of the state, is a complex tri-cultural area beset today by numerous social and economic difficulties. Many of these difficulties can be related to the area's pattern of settlements. With few exceptions, settlements in Hispano New Mexico are small, isolated, and lack both the range of tertiary functions necessary to provide area residents a high quality life-style and the spectrum of economic opportunities required to prevent substantial outmigration of the young, productive elements of the populace. Current patterns have resulted from the interplay of numerous social, political, economic, and chance factors through time, and their interpretation can best be made through a perspective which views the founding and growth of settlements as an ongoing evolutionary process. It is the intent of this paper to present an outline of the evolutionary process of settlement growth in Rio Arriba County, a portion of Hispano New Mexico.

I. The Physical Environment

Rio Arriba County is today an area of 5,853 square miles. It is roughly the size of Connecticut and Rhode Island combined, and occupies a large section of north-central New Mexico. The county embraces an area rich in scenic beauty featuring verdant meadows and parklands scattered among high rugged mountains. Most of the county lies above 7,000 feet. The continental divide runs north-south through Rio Arriba County placing the eastern two-thirds in

the Rio Grande-Rio Chama Basin, and the western third in the San Juan River Basin. Terrain varies from arid gully and mesa country to rolling mountains with both conifer and deciduous forests. The climate is semi-arid throughout the county, but precipitation diminishes from east to west across the continental divide.

II. America Indian Settlements

Both sedentary and nomadic tribes of Indians occupied the territory of present-day Rio Arriba County before it was conquered by the Spanish in 1598. Little detail of the extent of Pueblo settlement in the Chama Valley has been documented, although it is believed that the valley was a significant population center for Indians of the Tewa culture group between 1300 and 1500. Excavations at the Sapawe site near El Rito have uncovered an extensive pueblo which existed prior to 1300, and future archeological investigations at the numerous known sites along the tributaries of Rio Chama may eventually expand knowledge of the area's early settlement history.

Spanish contact, and the beginning of descriptive records of the Pueblos, dates from 1541 when part of the Coronado Expedition visited two Tewa settlements, which were referred to collectively as Yuqueyunque. One site has been identified west of the Rio Grande at its confluence with Rio Chama, and the other was the pueblo of Ohke, which was later to be renamed San Juan by Don Juan Onate.

The Tewas of San Juan and the other nearby pueblos were members of the Tanoan language group of Pueblo Indians. Together with the Keresan language group, the other major tribal classification of Rio Grande Pueblos, they numbered perhaps 40,000 people living in about 50 settlements scattered along the river from the Piro settlements, surrounding present-day Socorro, to Taos

at the time of Spanish conquest. Individual pueblos varied in size from

(Figure 1 about here)

several hundred to about two-thousand people, and each formed an autonomous social and economic unit. Each pueblo farmed its own nearby irrigated fields, constructed its own clothing and shelter, and developed distinctive styles in pottery and basketry. There is little doubt that periodic trading existed among pueblos, and between pueblos and the nomadic tribes, but there was no interpueblo government or regional political organization before the arrival of the Spaniards.

While the Pueblos occupied the river valleys, most of present Rio Arriba County was occupied by Navajos at the time of initial Spanish contact. They were a migratory people, who lived primarily by hunting and gathering from the extensive plains and mountains of their domain. Early Navajos traveled in small bands and built no permanent villages. They maintained occasional trading relationships with the people of the pueblos, but the casual trade was periodically interrupted by raiding parties and war.

Pre-European settlement of the present Rio Arriba County at the end of the 16th century consisted of perhaps 2000 Tewas living in villages such as Ohke near the confluence of the Rio Grande and Rio Chama. There were also an unknown, but probably small, number of Navajos operating in migratory groups throughout the remainder of the county.

III. Hispano Settlements

Spanish colonization of the upper Rio Grande Valley began with the Onate expedition of 1598. Leading a party of 129 men, some accompanied by their families, Don Juan Onate brought his amply supplied expedition to the pueblo

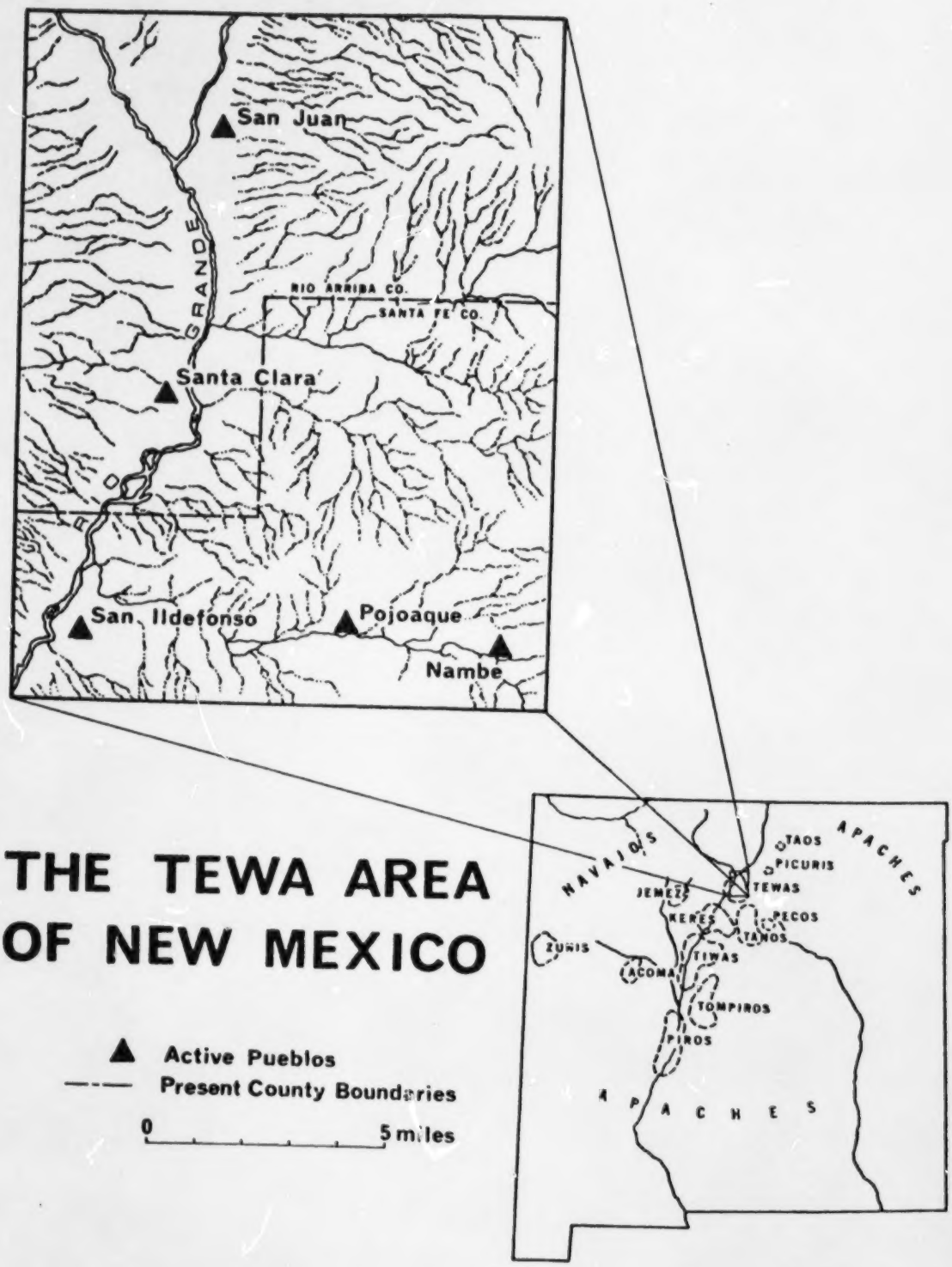
San Juan
GRANDE
RIO ARRIBA CO.
SANTA FE CO.
Santa Clara
San Ildefonso
Pojoaque
Nambe
NAVAJOS
APACHES
TAOS
PICURIS
TEWAS
JEMEZ
KERES
PECOS
TANOS
ZUNIS
TIWAS
ACOMA
TOMPIROS
PIROS
APACHES
THE TEWA AREA OF NEW MEXICO
Active Pueblos
Present County Boundaries
0
5 miles

FIGURE 1

of Ohke, which he soon renamed San Juan de los Caballeros. Two months after their arrival the Spanish settlers moved across the Rio Grande to establish a separate village which they named San Gabriel de los Espanoles. The Spanish settlement was built in the style of a pueblo, three-stories high arranged around a plaza, and a cannon dominated the central square.

Occupation proved difficult for these first Spanish colonists. No gold was found, farmers failed to produce enough food, and the Indians grew tired of supplying corn. More importantly, the Spanish government in Mexico City provided little support, and feelings of isolation and helplessness began to diminish the ranks of the colonists. Onate resigned as governor of the colony in 1607, but he named Don Pedro de Peralta as his successor and instructed him to relocate the settlers at Santa Fe, a site some 30 miles to the south of San Gabriel. In 1610 the main body of Spanish colonists withdrew to the new capital. Not all of the original settlers moved to Santa Fe however, and those that remained formed the nuclei of new settlements in the vicinity of San Juan.

One of the settlements spawned by the original Spanish capital was Santa Cruz de la Canada. A Franciscan missionary accompanying Onate was assigned to Santa Clara Pueblo, a few miles downstream from San Juan, in 1598. Certain of the peaceful nature of the Indians of Santa Clara, some of the disenchanted settlers of San Gabriel established farms on the fertile land opposite the pueblo on the east bank of the Rio Grande. These farms slowly became the nucleus of Santa Cruz, a community which grew into one of New Mexico's most populous villages in the years following the Pueblo Revolt.

The seventeenth century, culminating in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, brought little or no expansion of the original Spanish settlement frontier in Rio

Arriba County. Emphasis was shifted to settlement in and around Santa Fe, and the fertile lands of the Rio Grande Valley near present-day Albuquerque. Throughout most of the century, Santa Cruz remained the effective northern limit of Spanish New Mexico, although a small outpost was established at Taos in 1617. Rebellion brought abandonment of all the northern villages and ranchos by the Spanish, and it was 1693 before Diego de Vargas led a successful expedition up the Rio Grande from El Paso del Norte to recapture Santa Fe.

The period immediately following reconquest was one of great activity in Hispano New Mexico. Large numbers of new settlers followed the victorious march of De Vargas. Missions were re-established, destroyed churches were rebuilt, land grants were awarded to new colonists, and claims were adjudicated among those who had suffered losses in the revolt.

Governor De Vargas succeeded in expanding the settlement frontiers of the province through a series of expeditions intended to pacify the territory. One such expedition returned from southern Colorado by way of the Ojo Caliente River, and encouraged expansion of settlement beyond Santa Cruz to the north. In 1707 settlers took title to land at Embudo near the site of an abandoned pueblo. Other settlements were made at Santa Cruz de Ojo Caliente in 1735, and Santa Rosa de Abiquiu and Quemado in the 1740's.

(Figure 2 about here)

Establishment of villages at Ojo Caliente, Quemado, and Abiquiu extended the frontier of Hispano New Mexico to the north. Their occupation was of great importance to the provincial government in Santa Fe, but they proved to be unpopular homes for the colonists. Attacks by Utes, Comanches, Apaches, and Navajos brought frequent abandonment of these frontier outposts during the 18th century. A brief glimpse of what was surely a long running argument is seen in a letter from Governor Mendinueta written in 1769:

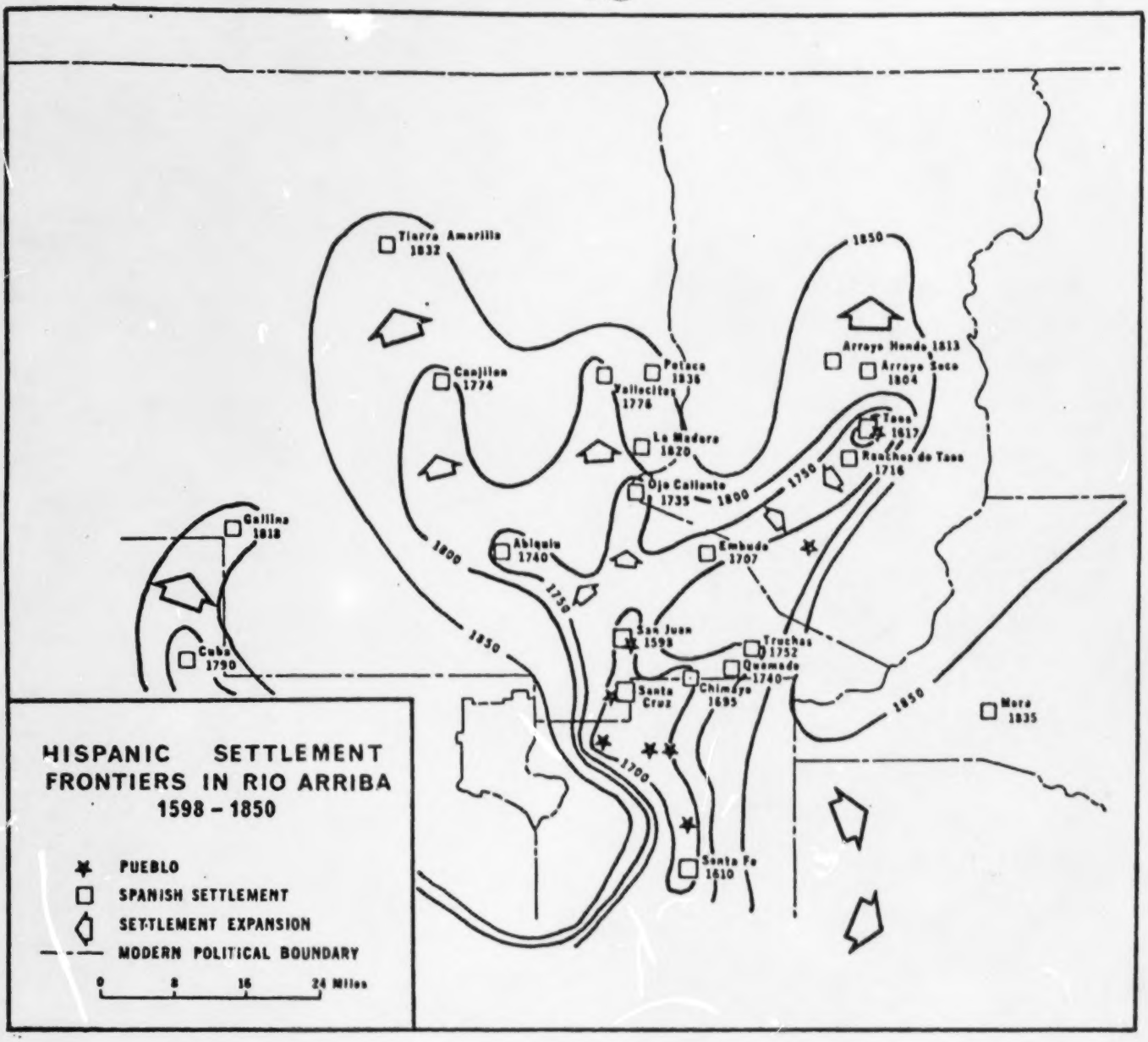
Tierra Amarilla 1832
Canjilon 1774
Petaca 1836
Vallecitos 1776
La Madera 1820
Ojo Caliente 1735
Arroyo Hondo 1813
Arroyo Seco 1804
Taos 1617
Ranchos de Taos 1716
Gallina 1818
Abiquiu 1740
Embudo 1707
Cuba 1790
San Juan 1598
Trucheas 1752
Quemado 1740
Santa Cruz
Chimayo 1695
Mora 1835
Santa Fe 1610
1850
1800
1750
1700
HISPANIC SETTLEMENT FRONTIERS IN RIO ARRIBA 1598 - 1850
PUEBLO
SPANISH SETTLEMENT
SETTLEMENT EXPANSION
MODERN POLITICAL BOUNDARY
0 8 16 24 Miles

FIGURE 2

> There is urgent and clear need to maintain the frontier Ojo Caliente, because if it is left unprotected, none of the Districts of Santa Cruz de la Canada would be secure, but all of them would be exposed to total ruin on account of their dispersion and because there would be no fortress for their defense, and as the frontier of Ojo Caliente is such a fortress, as has been demonstrated by experience, I order all residents of said river and plaza who lived (there) through the month of October last past, to return to occupy same under penalty of two hundred pesos fine.[1]

Expansion of Spanish settlement beyond the mid-18th century frontier villages during the last half of the century came about largely because of the increasing use of the Chama Valley as a trade route. In 1765 military expeditions were dispatched north into the territory of the Utes. During the 1770's private trading parties began bargaining with the Indians. In 1776 the Escalante-Dominguez expedition set out for California through the Chama Valley. Their accounts of the Chama and upper San Juan River regions provided the first general written descriptions of the terrain and its inhabitants, and their route eventually became known as the Spanish Trail.

Canjilon and Vallecitos were both settled during the 1770's. They, like the other Hispano frontier villages, experienced tenuous existences and functioned throughout the 18th century as little more than outposts set against a hostile land. Accurate population records for 18th century Hispano New Mexico villages are non-existent, but there were some descriptive accounts made by visitors which contain population estimates. These esti-

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[1] Boyd, E. "Troubles at Ojo Caliente, a Frontier Post," El Palacio, Nov.-Dec., 1957.

mates vary widely, and the variations probably reflect both the fluidity of settlement along the frontier and errors of estimation. The villages of Rio Arriba were visited and described by several ecclesiastical officials during the last half of the 18th century. Bishop Tamaron of Durango visited the province in 1760, and made the following estimates of the population of Rio Arriba villages: San Juan, 891; Santa Clara, 534; Abiquiu, 783; and Santa Cruz, 1831.[2] In 1776, Fray Francisco Dominguez counted 69 settlers at Embudo, 200 at Ojo Caliente, and 254 at Abiquiu.[3]

In 1800 the Rio Arriba area marked the frontier of Hispano New Mexico, and the pattern of settlements established by the Spanish reflected their relationships with the indigenous people. In the valley of the Rio Grande, Spanish and Tewa villages existed side by side for the Tewas were sedentary themselves and willing to accomodate the odd customs of the Europeans. Indeed, by the end of the 18th century, intermarriage had badly confused the classification of citizens into "Spanish" and "Indian" groups. Discussing the population counts in the pueblo of Tesuque, Jones notes:

> There were no Spaniards shown in that pueblo as of 1760, whereas there were only 232 Indians; by 1793 this same pueblo had 293 'Spaniards' and only 138 Indians. Many of the so-called Spaniards must have been mestizos, still very much a part of the Indian community.[4]

Beyond the safety of the Rio Grande, however, Spanish villages were precarious

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[2]Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, (San Francisco, 1889), p. 279.

[3]Dominguez, Fray Francisco, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, Ed. by Eleanor Adams & Fray Angelico Chavez, (Albq.: UNM, '56).

[4]Oakah, Jones, Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest, p. 152

outposts along a defense perimeter occupied in times of peace, abandoned in times of war. The migratory tribes of Utes, Navajos, Comanches, and Apaches were not about to acceed to Spanish occupation of their traditional hunting areas, and the slow pace with which settlement expanded outward from the Rio Grande core bears testimony to the resolve with which the indious barbaros faced the Europeans.

The first half of the 19th century was a time of dramatic change in Hispano New Mexico. Frontier settlements were extended up the Rio Chama to Tierra Amarilla, north from Taos to Arroyo Hondo and Arroyo Seco, beyond Cuba to Gallina, and east of the Sangre de Cristos to Mora and other trans-mountain villages (fig. 2). Contacts with Anglo-Americans, which began shortly after the United States purchased Louisiana Territory in 1803, were initially stifled by the Spanish government, but increased rapidly after the independence of Mexico in 1821. The emergence of Taos as an informal headquarters for fur trappers and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the 1820's were but the first small steps in what was to become a major invasion of Hispano New Mexico by a third cultural group, the Anglos.

IV. Anglo Settlements

The political transfer of New Mexico to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 had little immediate effect upon the pattern of settlements in Rio Arriba. In 1850 New Mexico Territory was officially designated and American soldiers were garrisoned at several villages including El Rito. Rio Arriba County was created by an act of the Territorial Legislative Assembly in January 1852. It was one of the nine original counties in the Territory, and was deliniated as a long, narrow rectangle of land

extending across the northwestern part of New Mexico.

(Figure 3 about here)

Throughout the 1850's the principal American presence in Rio Arriba County remained miiitary and governmental. In 1854 a military road was authorized to be constructed from Santa Fe to Taos by way of Santa Cruz, Velarde, and Embudo. In 1852 United States post offices were established at Abiquiu and La Canada (Santa Cruz). Los Luceros became the seat of county government in 1855.

For over three decades of American political control, Rio Arriba County remained, as it had during Spanish and Mexican rule, a frontier subject to constant threat of attack by the nomadic Indian tribes. In 1866, the U.S. Army established Fort Lowell at Tierra Amarilla as an outpost against threats by the Jicarilla Apache and Utes, but it was the mid-1870's before northern and western Rio Arriba County were considered safe for Anglo-American civil occupation.

The first major influx of Anglo settlers occurred during the late 1870's. They were, for the most part, cattlemen from Colorado and eastern New Mexico, and the area they settled was the rich pastureland of the San Juan Valley. Aztec, Farmington, and Cedar Hill were founded as trade centers in 1877, and within ten years the San Juan settlement area was broken off from Rio Arriba County to form an independent political unit (fig. 3).

Anglo ranchers began settling in the vicinity of Tierra Amarilla during the late 1870's, and in 1878 the community of Park View was founded just five miles north of the Hispano settlement. Relocation of the Rio Arriba county seat from Alcalde to Tierra Amarilla in 1880 reflected the increasing settlement of the northern and western portions of the county.

Railroads were built into Rio Arriba County for the first time in 1880,

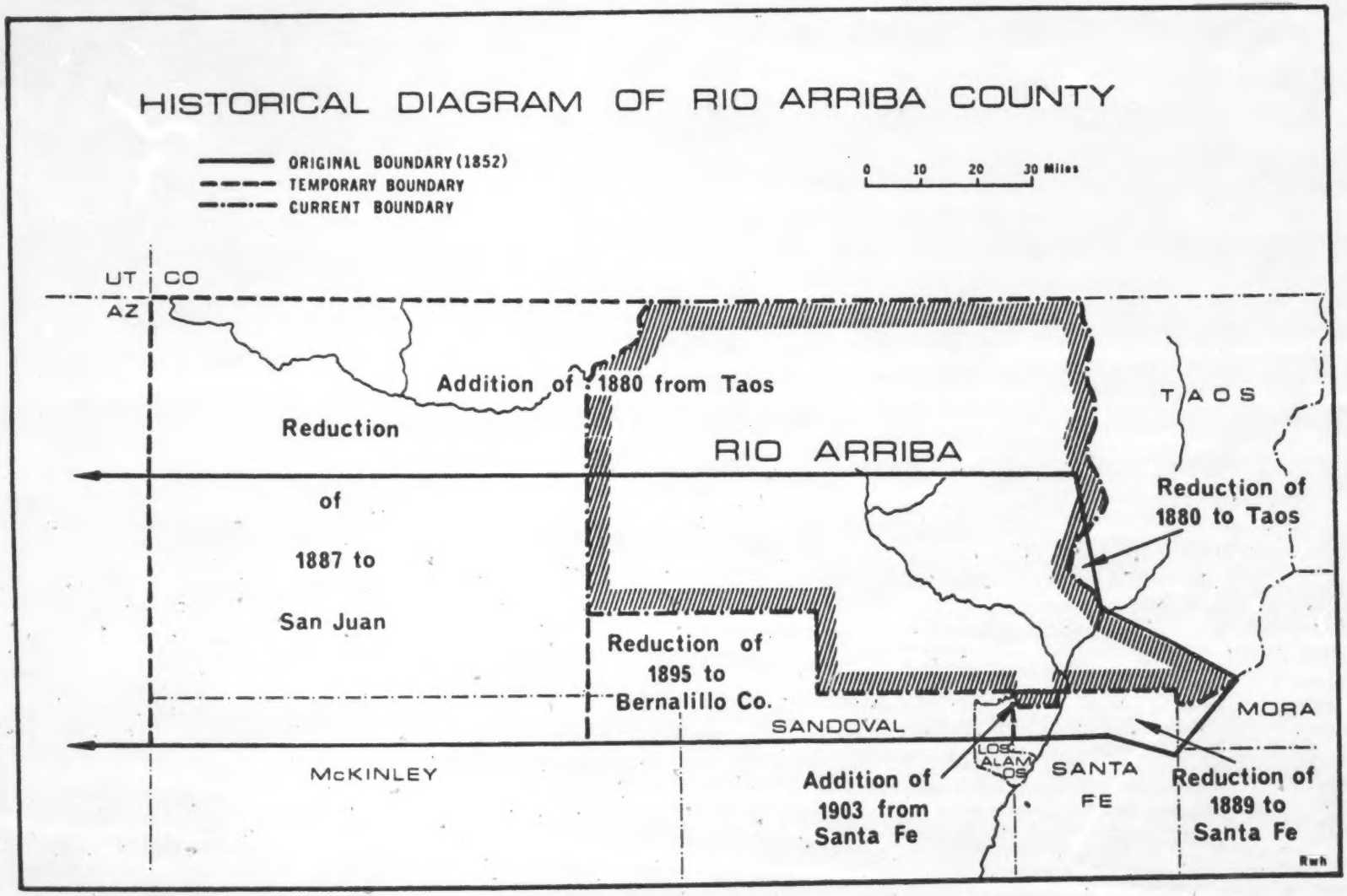
HISTORICAL DIAGRAM OF RIO ARRIBA COUNTY
ORIGINAL BOUNDARY (1852)
TEMPORARY BOUNDARY
CURRENT BOUNDARY
0 10 20 30 Miles
UT
CO
AZ
Addition of 1880 from Taos
Reduction
of
1887 to
San Juan
RIO ARRIBA
TAOS
Reduction of
1880 to Taos
Reduction of
1895 to
Bernalillo Co.
SANDOVAL
MORA
McKINLEY
LOS ALAMOS
SANTA FE
Addition of
1903 from
Santa Fe
Reduction of
1889 to
Santa Fe
Rwh

FIGURE 3

and the impact of the railways upon the pattern of settlements was dramatic. The Denver and Rio Grande Railway began construction of two major branch lines into Rio Arriba County from Alamosa, Colorado in 1879. One line was built south paralleling the Rio Grande. It was originally destined for Albuquerque. By the spring of 1880 construction was proceeding through White Rock Canyon of the Rio Grande northwest of Santa Fe when an agreement with the rival Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway was signed. The agreement was intended to settle a long running dispute between the two railroads, and under its terms Denver and Rio Grande operations were restricted to the area of New Mexico lying north of the construction camp at Espanola. The line from Alamosa to Espanola was opened to traffic on December 31, 1880, but it was to be six years before rails spanned the 35 mile gap between Espanola and Santa Fe. During that time Espanola, the D&RG construction camp, began to emerge as the dominant commercial center of the Rio Grande-Rio Chama junction area. Break-of-bulk and associated transportation functions succeeded in focusing trade and commerce at the rail terminus, and propelled Espanola past San Juan and Santa Cruz, its much older rivals, for primacy at the river junction.

The second Denver and Rio Grande Railway line was built west out of Alamosa by way of Antonito, Colorado. Crossing the Colorado-New Mexico border a number of times and passing through two tunnels, the railroad reaches its construction camp at Chama, New Mexico in late 1880. Service was begun between Alamosa and Chama during February 1881, and construction proceeded westward along the Colorado-New Mexico border reaching Durango during the summer of 1881. Chama grew rapidly as a livestock shipping center during the 1880's, and the railroad spawned a string of other communities such as Monero, Dulce, and Lumberton in northern Rio Arriba County during the decade.

(Figure 4 about here)

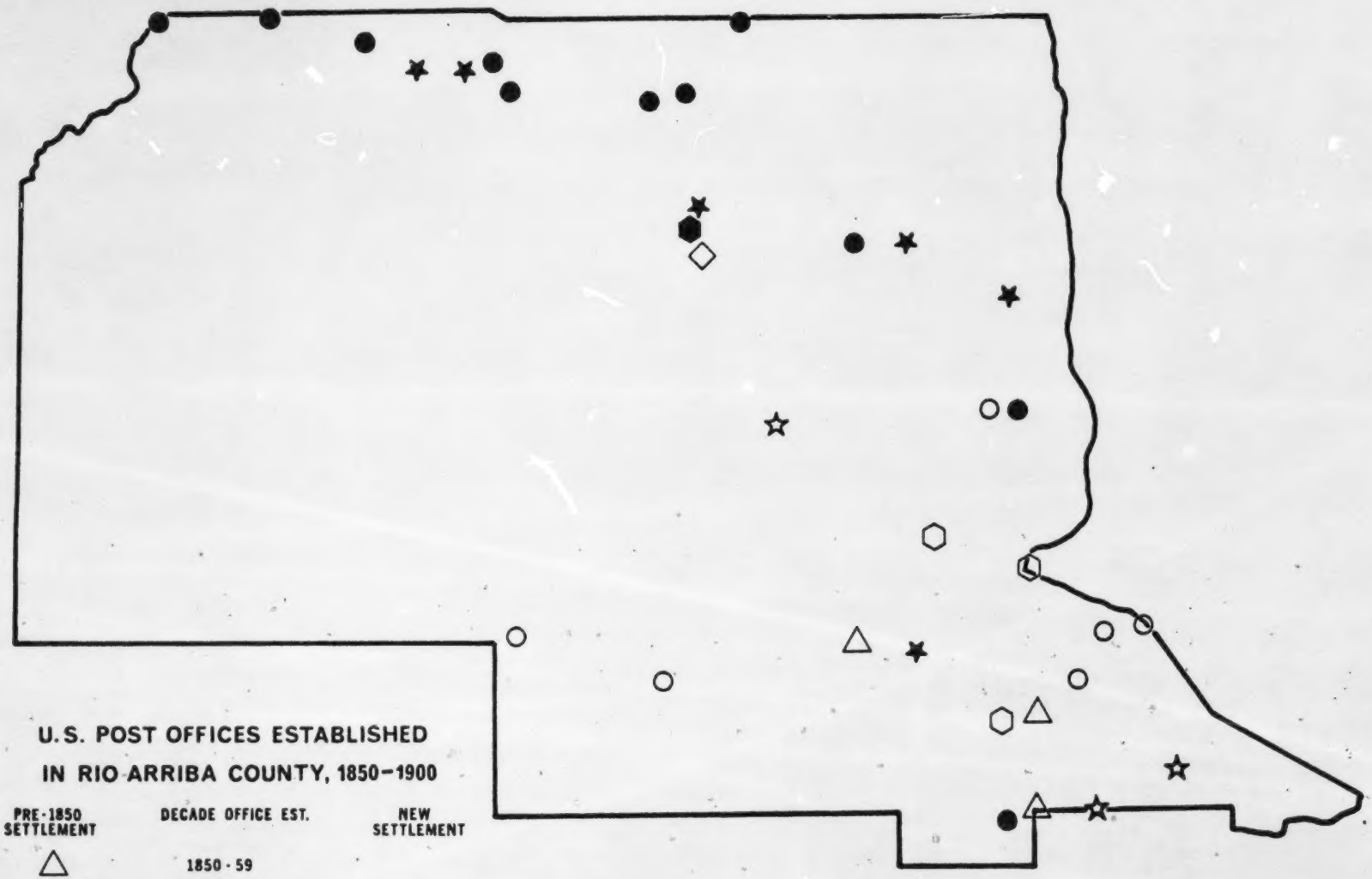
U.S. POST OFFICES ESTABLISHED
IN RIO ARRIBA COUNTY, 1850–1900
PRE-1850 SETTLEMENT
DECADE OFFICE EST.
NEW SETTLEMENT
1850-59
1860-69
1870-79
1880-89
1890-99

FIGURE 4

A third wave of Anglo settlers accompanied the discovery of gold and silver in Rio Arriba County during the 1880's. Centered in the mountains of the northeast part of the county, originally known as the Headstone Mining District, the discoveries produced gold and silver in moderate amounts for roughly two decades, and gave rise to a number of short-lived mining communities. There were about 24 mines in operation during the peak years of the late 1880's.

Succeeding decades brought some additional Anglo originated settlements to Rio Arriba County. Commercial lumbering created Edith, El Vado, and Llaves, and added vigor to the economies of Dulce, Lumberton, and Chama. Dry farming expanded into the southwestern portion of the county during the first decades of the 20th century, and gave rise to small farm centers such as Lindrith, Gavilan, and Tapicitos. Most recently, oil and gas exploration has created a few temporary settlements such as Ojito and Gobernador. For the most part, however, the tricultural texture of Rio Arriba's settlement mosaic was set by 1890. The San Juan basin was politically separated into its own county in 1887, and the flurry of railroad construction, which dominated the 1880's, effectively ended with the extension of service to Santa Fe in 1887. This is not to suggest that the settlement organization of the county remained constant after 1890, but the changes which have occurred have come about through re-adjustment and re-organization of the relationships between settlements existing in 1890, rather than the interjection of new settlements into the county's mosaic.

V. Emergence of a Settlement Hierarchy

Each of the three cultures which settled Rio Arriba County brought to the area contrasting ideas about the communities in which they lived and the social, political, and economic linkages between their communities. Tewa pueblos were self-contained, autonomous villages. Although they varied somewhat in population, no one pueblo dominated the others politically or economically. Trade was a

non-structured relationship between equal pueblos, or between a pueblo and outsiders. The organizational structure of Tewa pueblo inter-village linkages might be generalized and described as linear.

(Figure 5 about here)

Hispano colonists established Santa Fe as their political and economic capital, but the remainder of their settlements were designed to function as semi-autonomous subsistence agricultural villages. The number of residents varied from village to village, but villages shared equal political status and the range of functions available in each village was approximately the same. Each village looked to Santa Fe for political and administrative control, and goods and services not available in the village were obtained from Santa Fe. The resultant pattern of linkages between Spanish settlements in New Mexico might therefore be generalized and described as radial.

(Figure 6 about here)

Anglo settlers arriving in Rio Arriba County brought with them the concept of a political hierarchy of settlements. A newly occupied territory must have a capital. Further, the territory must be divided into districts, and each district must have a seat of government which is subordinate to the territorial capital. Any settlement which was not a territorial capital or a county seat was relegated to the third tier of a political hierarchy. The fact that position in this political hierarchy was considered important to residents of pioneer settlements is documented by the many examples of competition between communities for the seat of local government which characterized the history of American frontier settlement.

The argument supporting the existence of an economic hierarchy among Anglo settlements has been made time and time again in modern geographical literature. Whether, or not, a true hierarchy of economic functions exists, a strong

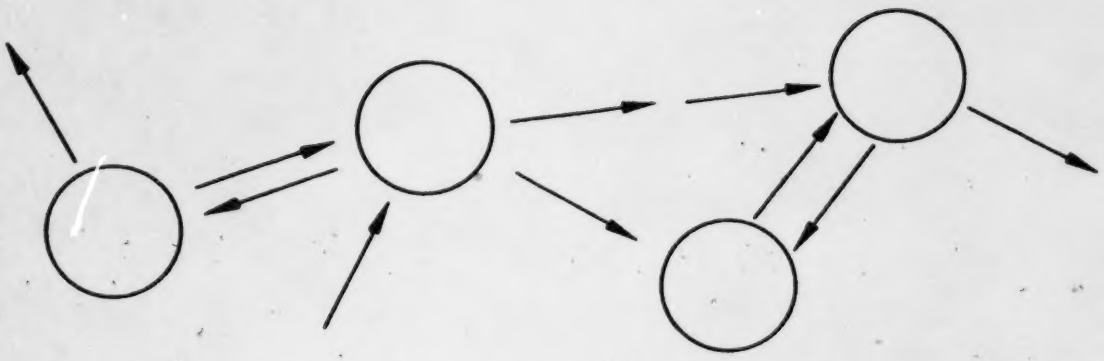

FIGURE 5

Generalized Socio-economic Linkages Between Tewa Pueblos

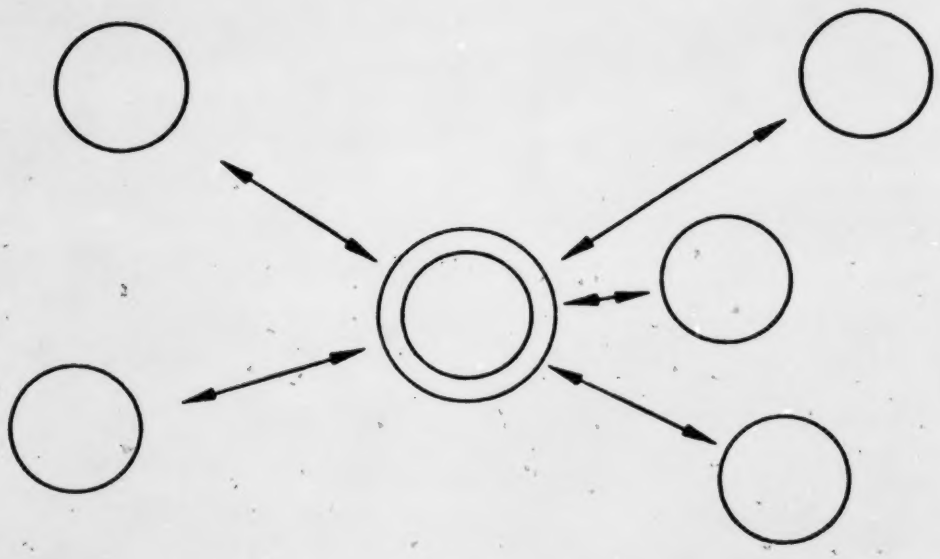

FIGURE 6

Generalized Socio-economic Linkages Between Hispano Settlements

positive relationship is generally acknowledged between the population of an Anglo settlement and the number and complexity of its economic functions. The organizational structure of linkages between Anglo settlements may be described as hierarchical from at least the political standpoint. (fig. 7).

(Figure 7 about here)

In 1850, all the settlements in Rio Arriba County were semi-autonomous villages whose residents were primarily occupied with subsistence agricultural pursuits. Some of the villages were of Tewa origin. Some were of Spanish origin. Probably all housed populations of both races, and none of them dominated the others either politically or economically. When the county was created by the New Mexico Territorial Legislature, it became necessary to designate one of Rio Arriba's villages as the seat of county government. Los Luceros, was so designated probably because it was central to the population strip extending from Santa Cruz to Embudo along the road to Taos. In 1860, the county seat was moved three miles south to Alcalde where it was to remain until 1880. Apparently, neither Los Luceros nor Alcalde developed into settlements larger than villages while they were designated as county seat. The three decades between 1850 and 1880 brought few changes to the traditional way of life in Rio Arriba County, and it seems likely that the county seat function by itself was insufficient to generate much commercial growth in the two villages.

Railroad construction and the expansion of cattle raising into the northwestern part of the county during the late 1870's ended the centrality of Alcalde to the county's population distribution. Tierra Amarilla, another village, was selected to be the county seat in 1880. It was approximately half-way between the new Anglo settlements of the San Juan Basin and the Rio Grande-Rio Chama population cluster.

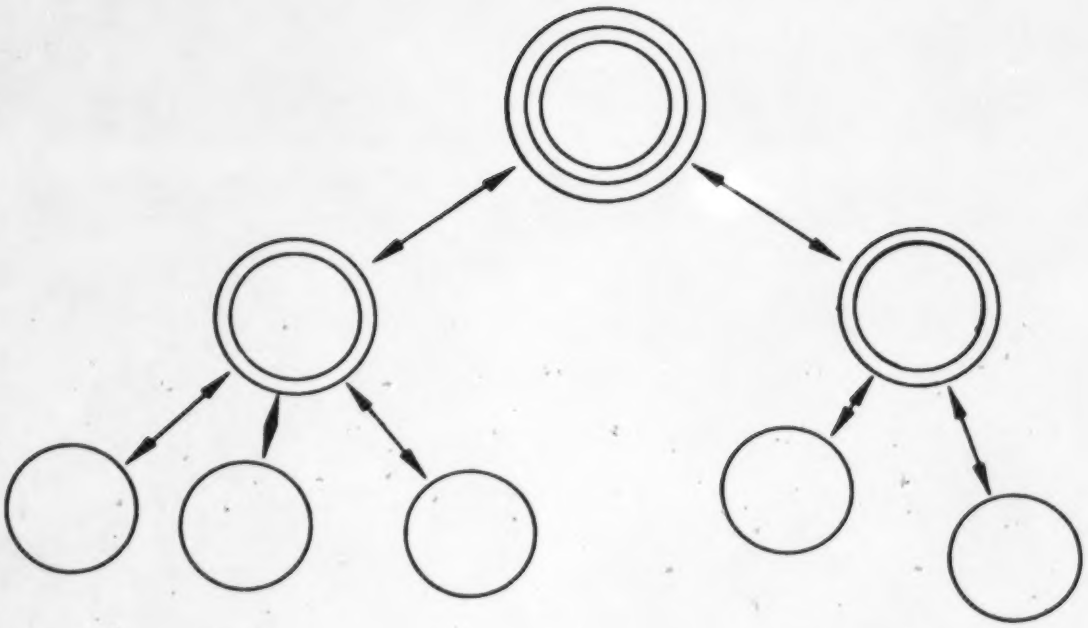

FIGURE 7

Generalized Political Linkages Between Anglo Settlements

By 1880 the traditional village settlement pattern of Rio Arriba County had changed little. The Census of 1880 identified 10 enumerated settlements in the county with populations as follows: Canoncito, 147; Chimallo, 175; El Cerro, 228; Embudo, 249; La Joya, 347; Las Truchas, 220; Los Sirceros, 155; Plaza del Alcalde, 168; Puenta, 195; and Santa Cruz, 196. An alternative view of the size of Rio Arriba County settlements is available from postmaster compensation data (fig. 8A). The largest settlement in 1880 was the new

(Figure 8 about here)

railroad construction camp at Chama, and the other nine communities served by post offices were approximately equal in size.

Throughout the 1880's and 1890's the number of communities expanded considerably, but the settlement size pattern remained basically a scatter of villages of approximately equal size (figs. 8B and 8C). By 1910 two settlements, Chama and Espanola, had attained sizes greatly in excess of the county's other villages. As measured in terms of postmaster compensation, Chama and Espanola were over twice as large as Tierra Amarilla, the third largest settlement (fig. 8D). It may be said, therefore, that during the first decade of the twentieth century the traditional village pattern of Rio Arriba County began to evolve into a hierarchy with the emergence of Chama and Espanola as dominant towns. The emergence of these particular town is significant in that they were both of relatively recent origin, and both associated with the railroad. Tierra Amarilla, the county seat and a much older settlement of Hispano origin, was apparently thwarted in its opportunity for growth by a lack of rail transportation services.[5]

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[5]Tierra Amarilla was tied to the rail network by a spur line extended from Chama in 1896. The line served primarily as a logging road, and, when the timber was depleted by 1902, the tracks were removed.

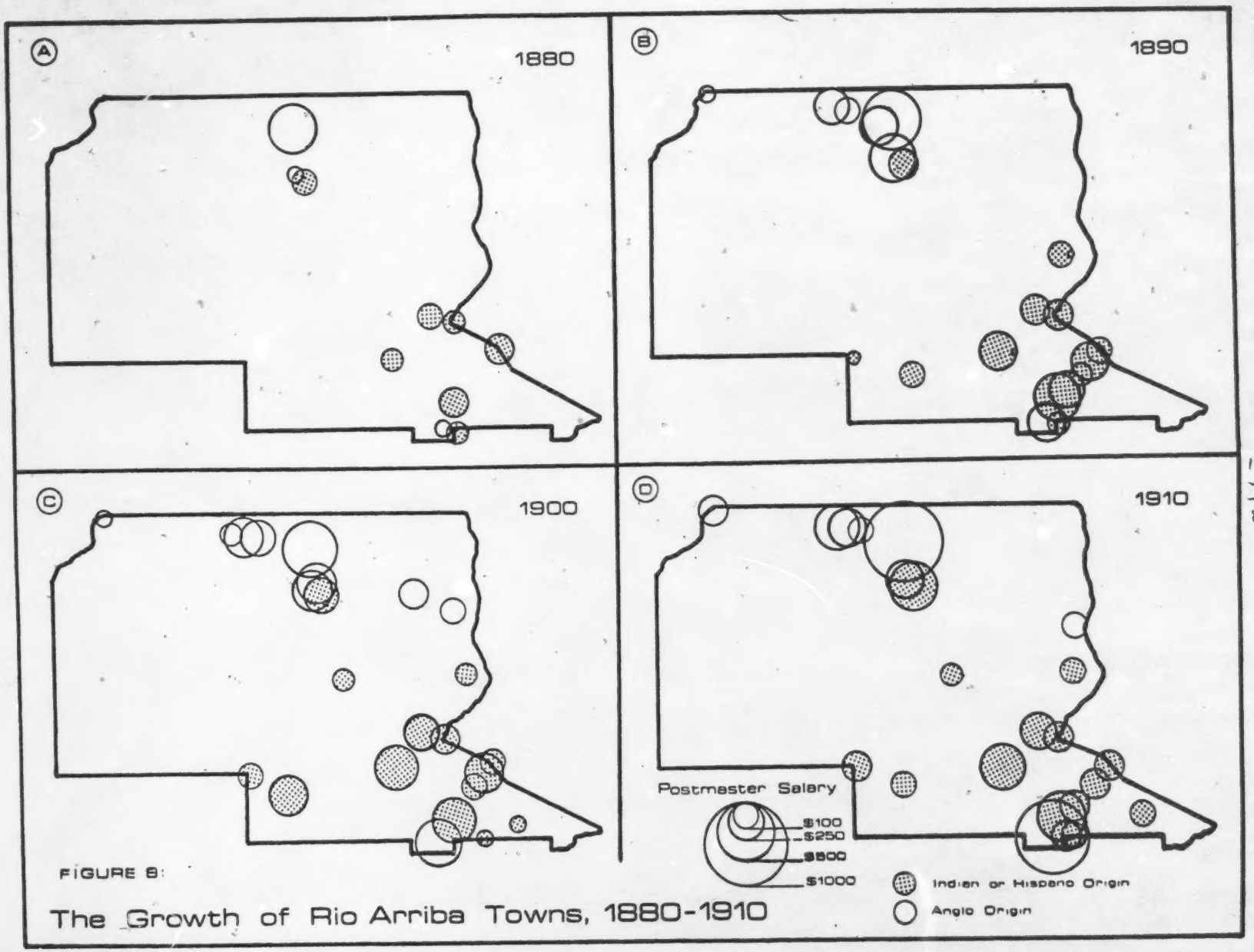

A
1880
B
1890
C
1900
D
1910
Postmaster Salary
$100
$250
$500
$1000
Indian or Hispano Origin
Anglo Origin
FIGURE 8:
The Growth of Rio Arriba Towns, 1880-1910

FIGURE 8

Construction of a network of all-weather roads and the expansion of motor vehicle travel contributed significantly to the emergence of Espanola as Rio Arriba's dominant settlement by the end of World War II (fig. 9). Situated at the junction of the Santa Fe-Taos highway (U.S. Route 85) and the Chama River

(Figure 9 about here)

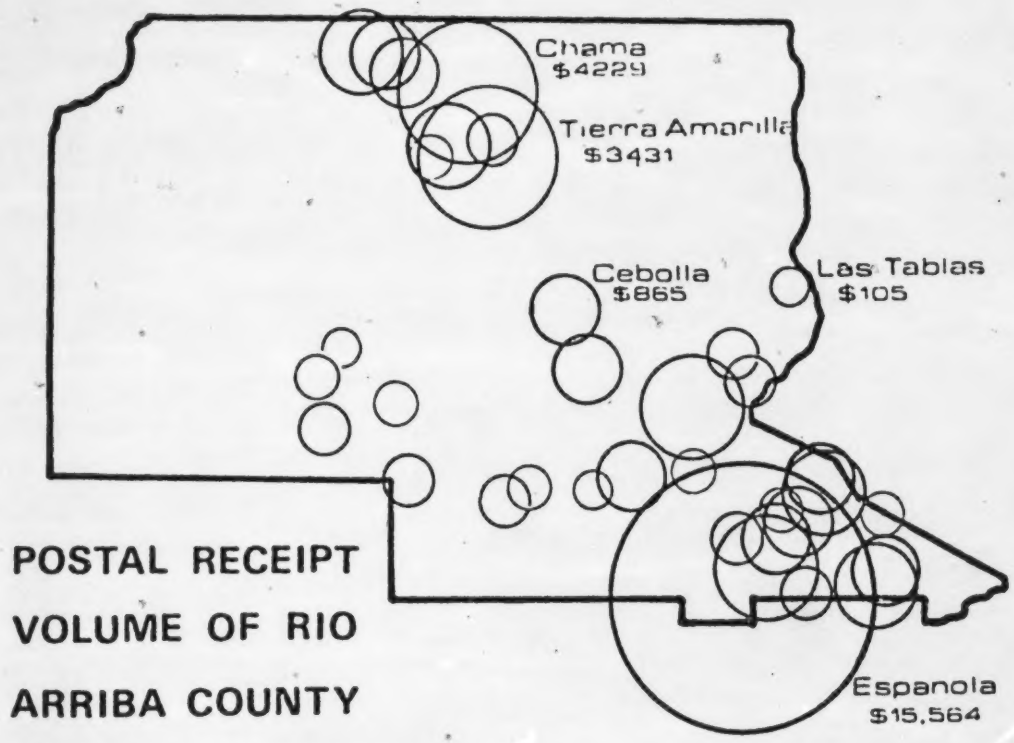
highway (U.S. Route 84), Espanola enjoyed an unequaled position of centrality in the county's highway network. Conversely, the declining importance of rail transportation had weakened the transportation advantage of Chama to the point where its size had undergone a relative decline to a level approximately equal to Tierra Amarilla.

VI. The Current Settlement Hierarchy

Espanola is by far the largest settlement in Rio Arriba County. In 1970, the postal receipts of Espanola were over five times as large as those of Chama, the county's second largest settlement (fig. 10). Espanola performed an array

(Figure 10 about here)

of 78 different sales and service functions through 319 establishments in 1970. Chama offered only 31 functions through 74 establishments. While experiencing a decline in size relative to Espanola during the post-war period, Chama has improved its position vis-a-vis the other settlements of the county. This has been accomplished largely by taking advantage of an expansion in tourism and recreation in northern Rio Arriba County. Dulce, headquarters of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation, has become the county's third ranked settlement due to a similar increase in tourism and the expenditure of Federal funds aimed at improving the quality of life on the Reservation. Tierra Amarilla has declined in relative importance among the county's settlements even though it remains



POSTAL RECEIPT VOLUME OF RIO ARRIBA COUNTY TOWNS IN 1947

Figure 9

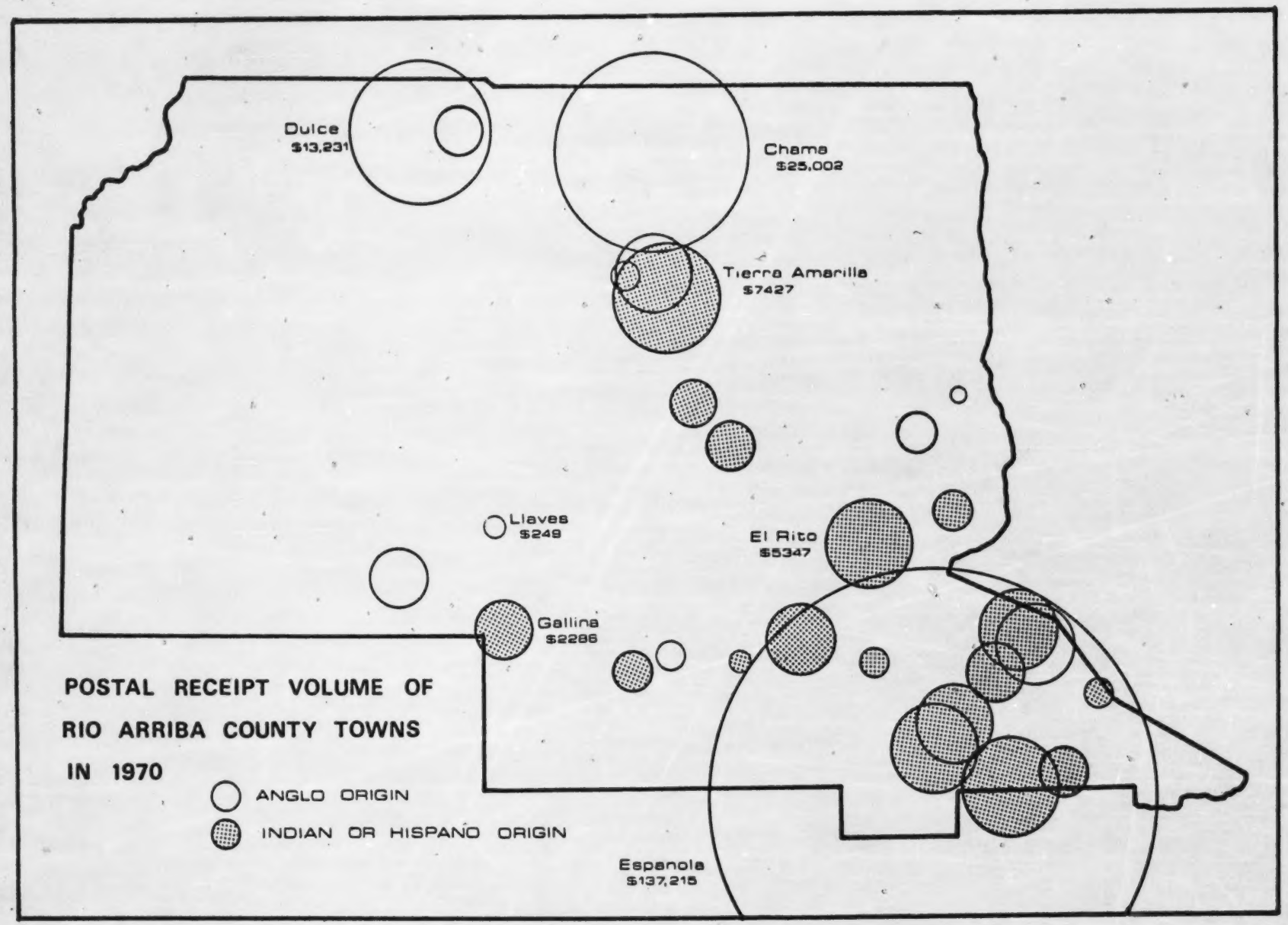


FIGURE 10

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the seat of county government.

The current hierarchy of Rio Arriba County settlements consists of at least three, and probably four, layers (Table 1). At the top is Espanola, a large

(Table 1 about here)

town or small city. It is followed by Chama and Dulce, both of which perform such typical small town functions as banking, secondary schooling, and professional services. At least 15 settlements make-up the third tier in the county settlement hierarchy. All offer elementary schooling and at least four other sales or service functions. The remaining settlements can probably be grouped into a fourth class, although classification according to function becomes extremely arbitrary among the small settlements of the county.

VII. Conclusion

The creation of settlements in Rio Arriba County began with ancient Tewa Pueblos, and villages of similar function were founded by Hispano colonists as late as the first half of the nineteenth century. These villages were designed as autonomous, or semi-autonomous, subsistence agricultural production units. After Anglo communities were added to the existing settlement matrix during the last half of the nineteenth century, a hierarchy of settlements began to emerge in the county. Position on the railroad, and later highway, network became an important advantage in the competition for trade areas. Chama and Espanola, both associated with the railroad, successfully exploited their transportation advantages to emerge as dominant settlements. A shift in importance from rail to highway transport has helped Espanola become the county's leading trade center since the 1920's. Chama and Dulce follow Espanola today in providing sales and services to Rio Arriba's population. It is noteworthy that the three

TABLE 1

THE NUMBER OF SALES AND SERVICE FUNCTIONS
PERFORMED BY RIO ARRIBA COUNTY SETTLEMENTS

Settlement	Number of Functions	Number of Establishments
Abiquiu	7	10
Alcalde	7	12
Brazos	3	4
Canjilon	6	6
Canones	2	2
Cebolla	6	6
Chama	31	74
Chamita	4	5
Chili	0	0
Cordova	6	6
Coyote	5	6
Dixon	8	13
Dulce	15	20
El Gauche	0	0
El Rito	9	10
Embudo	2	2
Ensenada	2	2
Espanola	78	319
Hernandez	10	12
La Puente	1	1
La Villita	0	0
Lumberton	7	11
Lyden	0	0
Medanales	4	4
Monero	0	0
Park View	9	10
Rinconada	1	1
Rutheron	2	1
San Juan Pueblo	4	5
Tierra Amarilla	13	18
Truchas	9	12
Velarde	9	11
Youngsville	5	4

highest order settlements in the county are all originated during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by Anglo settlers. Hispano and Indian originated settlements make-up the majority of surviving villages and hamlets in Rio Arriba County. These settlements were conceived as villages by their founders, and they remain villages to this day.